

Message Text

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SUBJECT: INR ASSESSMENT OF AFRICAN REPERCUSSIONS OF THE
PORTUGUESE COUP

FOLLOWING IS SUMMARY PLUS SELECTED HIGHLIGHTS OF INR
RESEARCH STUDY RAAS-4, DATED APRIL 30, "LIKELY REPERCUSSIONS
IN AFRICA OF THE COUP IN PORTUGAL".

SUMMARY

THE NEW PORTUGUESE JUNTA IS LIKELY TO INITIATE WHAT IT HOPES
WILL BE HIGHLY VISIBLE REFORMS IN THE TERRITORIES AND TO
BEGIN TALKS WITH WHATEVER AFRICAN ELEMENTS MAY BE WILLING
TO DISCUSS FUTURE POSSIBILITIES WITH IT. THESE DEVELOPMENTS
WILL PROCEED AT MARKEDLY DIFFERENT RATES IN THE THREE
AFRICAN PROVINCES, HOWEVER, AND IN NO CASE IS EITHER INDE-
PENDENCE OR EVEN INTERNAL MAJORITY RULE LIKELY SOON.
GENERAL SPINOLA HIMSELF REPORTEDLY HAS SAID THAT "SELF-
DETERMINATION SHOULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH INDEPENDENCE" AND
PROBABLY FAVORS A FEDERAL APPROACH TO THE COLONIAL PROBLEM.

--IN PORTUGAL'S AFRICAN TERRITORIES, MOST OF THE PORTUGUESE
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ARMED FORCES WILL PROBABLY WELCOME THE MILITARY COUP IN

LISBON. FOR THE TIME BEING, AT LEAST, THE MILITARY ARE UNLIKELY TO TRY TO SPLIT OFF ANY OF THESE POSSESSIONS FROM THE METROPOLE.

--LOCAL WHITE SETTLER ATTITUDES WILL BE AMBIVALENT, BUT NONE OF THE WHITE POPULATIONS IN THESE TERRITORIES HAS THE CAPACITY, WITHOUT THE ASSISTANCE OF TROOPS FROM THE METROPOLE, TO SET UP A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT AT THIS TIME.

--AFRICANS WILL BE CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE.

--THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS WILL CONTINUE WITH THEIR STRUGGLES.

--IN NEIGHBORING BLACK NATIONS, INITIAL ENTHUSIASM ABOUT THE COUP WILL TURN TO DISAPPOINTMENT AS IT BECOMES CLEAR THAT DESPITE THE CHANGE OF RULERS IN LISBON, INDEPENDENCE IS NOT COMING SOON TO PORTUGUESE AFRICA.

--IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA, THERE WILL BE SERIOUS AND CONTINUING CONCERN. SALISBURY AND PRETORIA MAY CONSIDER THIS A MAJOR TURNING POINT.

THE NEW LISBON REGIME AND THOSE AFRICAN LEADERS INTERESTED IN WORKING FOR AN ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA MAY IN DUE COURSE PROPOSE THAT THE US PLAY AN ACTIVE BROKER'S ROLE IN HELPING TO BRING ABOUT NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS THERE.

PROBABLE REACTIONS IN NEARBY WHITE-RULED COUNTRIES

NEWS OF THE PORTUGUESE COUP WILL CAUSE SERIOUS AND CONTINUING CONCERN IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. WITH ITS FRACTIONAL (255,000) WHITE POPULATION AND LONG BORDER WITH MOZAMBIQUE ACROSS WHICH INSURGENTS HAVE PENETRATED, RHODESIA'S POSITION IS THE MOST IMMEDIATELY EXPOSED.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT IS LIKELY TO PRESS THE JUNTA NOT TO PULL ITS MILITARY FORCES OUT OF ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE QUICKLY. PRETORIA WILL PROBABLY GIVE SERIOUS CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSIDERATION TO ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL INDUCEMENTS THAT MIGHT PERSUADE THE NEW LISBON GOVERNMENT NOT TO OFFER HASTY SELF-DETERMINATION OR INDEPENDENCE TO ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE. THERE WILL ALSO BE A SOBER WEIGHING OF THE PROS AND CONS OF A SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY SEIZURE OF SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE, ESPECIALLY THAT PORTION SOUTH OF THE SAVE RIVER, IF THE JUNTA APPEARS LIKELY TO REMOVE ITS MILITARY FORCES ABRUPTLY.

AS EVENTS UNFOLD IN PORTUGAL, AND THE NEW GOVERNMENT CONFIRMS THAT IT WILL MAINTAIN ITS MILITARY POSITION IN ITS

AFRICAN POSSESSIONS FOR THE TIME BEING, ANXIETY IS LIKELY TO EASE SOMEWHAT IN SALISBURY AND PRETORIA. NEVERTHELESS, THE NEW SITUATION WILL CONTINUE TO POSE GRAVE QUESTIONS FOR RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. REALIZING THAT THEY PROBABLY DO NOT HAVE THE RESOURCES TO TAKE OVER SOUTHERN MOZAMBIQUE, AND THAT IN THE LONGER TERM MAJORITY RULE WILL PROBABLY COME TO THE TERRITORY, SOUTH AFRICANS MUST BEGIN TO WEIGH THE BROADER IMPLICATIONS OF WHAT MUST SEEM TO THEM A TURNING POINT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

IMPLICATIONS FOR US POLICIES IN AFRICA

--IF, AS WE BELIEVE, NEITHER ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, NOR PORTUGUESE GUINEA IS GOING TO BE GRANTED INDEPENDENCE IN THE NEAR FUTURE, AFRICANS WILL VIEW TOO CLOSE A US IDENTIFICATION WITH THE LISBON JUNTA IN THE SAME LIGHT THAT THEY REGARDED US RELATIONS WITH THE CAETANO GOVERNMENT. IN THEIR EYES, SUCH RELATIONS WOULD JEOPARDIZE WHATEVER POSSIBILITIES EXIST FOR EXPLOITING THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES IN PORTUGAL TO IMPROVE US RELATIONS WITH BLACK AFRICA.

--BOTH THE NEW LISBON REGIME, AND THOSE AFRICAN LEADERS INTERESTED IN WORKING FOR AN ACCEPTABLE POLITICAL SOLUTION IN THE PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES, MAY IN DUE COURSE PROPOSE THAT THE US PLAY AN ACTIVE BROKER'S ROLE IN HELPING TO BRING ABOUT NEW POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN PORTUGUESE AFRICA--E.G., BY SERVING AS AN INTERMEDIARY OR PERHAPS BY PROVIDING MATERIAL AID. THEY WOULD ARGUE THAT A US ROLE, POSSIBLY WITH BRAZILIAN PARTICIPATION, MIGHT CONTRIBUTE TO

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THE SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THESE COLONIAL WARS. ANY PLAN FOR PORTUGUESE COLONIAL REFORM WHICH DOES NOT CLEARLY PRESUPPOSE OPTIONS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES, HOWEVER, WOULD BE SEEN BY AFRICANS SIMPLY AS OFFERING A "EUROPEAN" SOLUTION TO AN "AFRICAN" PROBLEM.

--SOUTH AFRICAN SPOKESMEN ARE LIKELY TO PRESS ON THE US THE IMPORTANCE OF WHITE-RULED SOUTHERN AFRICA AS AN "ANTI-COMMUNIST BASTION," AND THE VITAL NECESSITY OF PRESERVING "STABILITY" IN THIS AREA. YET, THERE IS AN UNDERLYING INSTABILITY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA STEMMING FROM MINORITY RACIAL RULE. THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN LISBON SHOULD MAKE THIS MORE RATHER THAN LESS APPARENT AS TIME GOES ON. RUSH

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